

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 SAM-01 NSC-05 NSCE-00

INR-05 CIAE-00 L-01 PM-03 SP-02 PRS-01 DODE-00 SCCT-01

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P R 301114Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2326

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 2116

LIMDIS

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR PINS MILI AO ZA

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH SAVIMBI

REF: LONDON 16458

1. SUMMARY. UNITA PRESIDENT JONAS SAVIMBI TOLD US OCT 29 HE AND FNLA PRESIDENT ROBERTO HAVE AGREED WORK OUT DETAILS OF JOINT PROVISIONAL GOVT PRIOR NOV 11 TO COUNTER EXPECTED MPLA ATTEMPT TO CLAIM SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL ANGOLA UPON INDEPENDENCE. CLAIMED HE EXPECTS AT LEAST 17 AFRICAN STATES TO RECONGIZE FNLA-UNITA GOVT VS. NO MORE THAN 12 FOR MPLA. SAID KAUNDA HAS RECONFIRMED HIS REFUSAL RECOGNIZE MPLA GOVT AND WOULD CONSIDER QUESTION OF ZAMBIAN RECOGNITION OF FNLA-UNITA FTER HE HAS SEEN TERMS OF PROPOSAL.

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SAVIMBI SAID HE WOULD STRESS TO USG FOUR POINTS: UNITA

AND FNLA CAN WORK TOGETHER; JOINTLY THEY CAN CONTRO
ERRATIC CHIPENDA FACTION; USG NEEDS KEEP EYE ON SITUATION
IN PORTUGAL TO PREVENT COMMUNIST COUP THERE PRIOR ANGOLA
INDEPENDENCE; AND USG MUST MAKE SOVIETS AWARE THEY ARE NOT
ONLY GREAT POWER INTERESTED IN ANGOLA. SAVIMBI DID NOT
REQUEST USG POLITICAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR FNLA-UNITA
IF THEY ANNOUNCE FORMATION PROVISIONAL GOVT. END SUMMARY.

2. SAVIMBI, WHO ARRIVED LUSAKA OCT 28, TELEPHONED AMBASSADOR
FOR APPOINTMENT MORNING OCT 29. HE ARRIVED AT EMBASSY
ACCOMPANIED BY UNITA EXTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY JORGE
SANGUMBA. SAVIMBI EXPLAINED HE RECENTLY MET WITH AMERICAN
DIPLOMATS IN LONDON (REFTEL) AND IN MONROVIA. HE WAS
CALLING ON AMBASSADOR TO KEEP HER INFORMED AND BRING USG
UP TO DATE ON VERY LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA SITUATION.

3. SAVIMBI CONFIRMED FALL TO UNITA AND FNLA FORCES OF
SOUTHERN ANGOLA PORT CITY OF MOCAMEDES. ITS MPLA DEFENDERS
HAVE RETIRED TO LOBITO. SAVIMBI SAID LIBTO IS NOW
PRIORITY UNITA OBJECTIVE WHICH HE HOPES TO SEIZE PRIOR
NOV 11 INDEPENDENCE DATE. HE EXPLAINED, HOWEVER,
THAT CAPTURE OF CITY PRESENTS CERTAIN TACTICAL
PROBLEMS AS UNITA WISHES TO INSURE MPLA FORCES DO
NOT DAMAGE VITAL RAILWAY BRIDGE NEAR CITY. IF
DESTROYED, BRIDGE WOULD TAKE FULLY ONE YEAR TO REPAIR,
SERIOUSLY CURTAILING USEFULNESS OF BENGUELA LINE.

4. SAVIMBI AFFIRMED HE AND HOLDEN ROBERTO HAD AGREED
IN PRINCIPLE TO ESTABLISHING ON NOV 11 FNLA-UNITA
PROVISIONAL GOVT IN NOVA LISBOA AS RIVAL TO PROVISIONAL
GOVT MPLA EXPECTED TO DECLARE IN LUANDA. SAVIMBI SPOKE
TO ROBERTO BRIEFLY WHILE TRANSITING KINSHASA OCT 28 AND
IT WAS AGREED DETAILS OF PROVISIONAL GOVT TO BE WORKED OUT
DURING SANGUMBA VISIT TO KINSHASA OVER WEEKEND. HE
PROMISED PROVIDE THIS EMBASSY WITH COPY OF AGREEMENT
WHEN SIGNED.

5. IN REPLY TO QUESTION, SAVIMBI EXPECTS FOLLOWING
AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO LINE UP BEHIND MPLA: ALGERIA, CAPE
VERDE, CONGO, DAHOMEY, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, GUINEA, GUINEA-
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BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA. ATTITUDES OF SOMALIA,
UGANDA AND LIBYA STILL UNCERTAIN. SAVIMBI SAID FNLA-UNITA
PROVISIONAL GOVT COULD EXPECT HAVE SUPPORT OF FOLLOWING
STATES: BURUNDI, CAMEROON, GAMBIA, GHANA, IVORY COAST,
KENYA, LESOTHO, LIBERIA, MOROCCO, RWANDA, SENEGAL, SUDAN,
TUNISIA, UPPER VOLTA, ZAIRE. SAVIMBI SAID HIS GROUP
STILL TALKING WITH EGYPTIANS FOR THEIR SUPPORT. ALSO
HOPED HE COULD COUNT ON BOTSWANA.

6. ASKED ABOUT SUPPORT FROM ZAMBIANS, SAVIMBI SAID HE HAD MET THAT MORNING WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND FONMIN BANDA. KAUNDA OBVIOUSLY VERY MUCH WORRIED ABOUT POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS OF HIS POLICY ON ANGOLA ON HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH TANZANIAN AND MOZAMBIKAN LEADERS, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF ZAMBIA'S CURRENT DEPENDENCE UPON OUTLETS TO SEA THROUGH THEIR TWO COUNTRIES. ASKED IF KAUNDA AGREEABLE TO HELP FACILITATE TRANSIT OF UNITA'S EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES, SAVIMBI PROMPTLY SAID THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS. KAUNDA APPEARED TO SAVIMBI TO BE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT LIKELY SOVIET INFLUENCE ON ANGOLA WERE MPLA VICTORIOUS. HE TOLD SAVIMBI THAT ZAMBIA WILL NOT IN ANY EVENT RECONGIZE MPLA UNILATERAL CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY ON NOV 11. HE ASKED TO STUDY SPECIFICS OF UNITY PROPOSAL AFTER STRATEGIES AGREED IN KINSHASA THIS WEEKEND AND INVITED SAVIMBI TO RETURN TO LUSAKA NOV 1 FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

7. SAVIMBI EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US (LATER STRESSED IN HIS LUSAKA PRESS CONFERENCE SEPTTEL) THAT SIX SOVIET MIG AIRCRAFT NOW WAITING IN CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE WILL BE TURNED OVER BY THAT STATE TO MPLA AS "LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT" IMMEDIATELY UPON ANGOLA BECOMING INDEPENDENT. WITH THESE AIRCRAFT, WHICH HE SAID WOULD BE PILOTED BY CUBANS AND ALGERIANS, MPLA COULD ATTACK OPPOSITION-HELD CITIES, CREATE HAVOC AND PANIC AMONG CIVILIAN POPULATION AND WORSE STILL, UPSET HARD FOUGHT AND COSTLY BALANCE ACHEIVED WITH MPLA FORCES. SAVIMBI ACKNOWLEDGED UNITA HAS NO AIR DEFENSE TO COUNTER THIS THREAT AND STRONGLY HINTED AT HIS NEED FOR THIS KIND OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

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INR-05 CIAE-00 L-01 PM-03 SP-02 PRS-01 DODE-00 SCCT-01

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P R 301114Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2327
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMCONSUL LUANDA
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

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8. ASKED IF UNITA COULD OPERATE BENGUELA RAILWAY, ONCE IT AND LOBITO WERE IN UNITA HANDS, SAVIMBI SAID HE HAD MET IN LONDON WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RAILWAY'S OWNERS. THROUGH THEM HE HAS MADE PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO BRING BACK TO ANGOLA REFUGEE PORTUGUESE RAILWAY TECHNICIANS ON CONDITION LATTER WILL RECEIVE HALF THEIR SALARY IN ANGOLA CURRENCY AND REST IN HARD CURRENCY BANKED ABROAD. HE SAID MOST AFRICAN EMPLOYEES HAD REMAINED IN ANGOLA AND COULD BE READILY RE-EMPLOYED ONCE LINE PUT BACK INTO OPERATION.

9. AMBASSADOR ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY PARTICULAR MESSAGE HE WISHED HAVE CONVEYED TO USG. SAVIMBI MENTIONED FOLLOWING FOUR POINTS:

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A. HE CAN WORK WELL WITH HOLDEN ROBERTO. SAVIMBI IS DETERMINED THERE BE NO SPLIT BETWEEN HIM AND ROBERTO THAT MIGHT LEAD TO A SECOND CIVIL WAR. IMPLIED HE IS PREPARED TO OVERLOOK OLD RIVALRIES AND DIFFERENCES WITH ROBERTO IF THAT NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP.

B. ALTHOUGH NOMINALLY SUBORDINATE TO FNLA, FORCES UNDER

DANIEL CHIPENDA HAVE IN FACT BEEN OPERATING INDEPENDENTLY AND WITH POOR DISCIPLINE. ROBERTO NOW AWARE OF THIS AND HE AND SAVIMBI WILL UNDERTAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO ESTABLISH TIGHTER CONTROL OVER CHIPENDA FORCES. SAVIMBI ALLEGED THAT CHIPENDA IS RECEIVING SOME SUPPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

C. US MUST KEEP CLOSE EYE ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. SAVIMBI REPEATED WARNINGS CONVEYED TO HIM IN PARIS BY ENVOY OF MELO ANTUNES AND BY REPS OF

PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY THAT PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS ARE PLOTTING COUP D'ETAT IN LISBON PRIOR TO NOV 11. EVEN IF COMMUNIST CONTROL IS PORTUGAL SHORT-LIVED, SAVIMBI FEARS PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS WILL FIND IT USEFUL TO EXTEND IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION TO MPLA GOVT, THUS GIVING IT SOME ODOR OF SANCTITY. WE ASSURED SAVIMBI DEPT AND OUR EMBASSY IN LISBON ARE INDEED KEEPING VERY CLOSE WATCH ON PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS AND ARE ALERT TO THIS DANGER.

D. US MUST MAKE SOVIETS AWARE THEY ARE NOT ONLY GREAT POWER INTERESTED IN ANGOLAN SITUATION. IN THIS REGARD SAVIMBI RELATED SHORT ANECDOTE ABOUT MEETING IN PARIS WITH "SOI-DSANT" JOURNALIST WHO TURNED OUT TO BE SOVIET AGENT. LATTER ARGUED THAT SOVIETS WERE IN A POSITION TO PERSUADE MPLA FORCES TO WITHDRAW FROM LOBITO IF SAVIMBI WOULD IN TURN PROMISE MAKE PORT FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO SOVIET UNION. SAVIMBI SAID HE REJECTED THIS OFFER.

10. COMMENT: SAVIMBI APOLOGIZED FOR NOT HAVING SEEN AMBASSADOR FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. HE OBVIOUSLY WISHES MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH USG OFFICIALS AS ANGOLA
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GETS NEARER TO NOV 11 INDEPENDENCE DAY. HE SEEMED EAGER TO REASSURE US HE SINCERE AND DETERMINED THAT FNLA AND UNITA COOPERATE CLOSELY FOR SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING SOME BALANCE WITH MPLA; ALSO THAT FNLA-UNITA PROVISIONAL GOVT WOULD HAVE SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM WITHIN OAU. HE STOPPED SHORT, HOWEVER, OF ASKING FOR USG POLITICAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT OF PROPOSED FNLA-UNITA GOVT. WE PROPOSE TO DISCUSS FNLA-UNITA RECOGNITION QUESTION WITH ZAMBIANS TO ESTABLISH REAL BASIS FOR ZAMBIAN CAUTION BE IT RELATED TO ONE OR MORE OF FOLLOWING REASONS: OVERRIDING DISTRUST OF FNLA; DOUBTS ABOUT UNITY OF TWO MOVEMENTS; OR MERELY A PRACTICAL RESERVATION AGAINST GIVING BLIND SUPPORT BEFORE THE FACT OF UNITY. SAVIMBI APPEARED CONFIDENT HE WILL CONTINUE RECEIVE COVERT ZAMBIAN SUPPORT DURING NEXT CRITICAL TWO WEEKS, AS WELL AS AT LEAST OVERT ZAMBIAN NEUTRALITY BETWEEN RIVAL PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS.
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